aguardiente--an alcoholic beverage
arco--the rainbow spirit
kachí--special divination sites
kuetand tuka--a small calabash used to hold the lime employed in coca chewing
mambe--lime to be chewed with coca
pango pil--bench
ptans--literally "dirt"; the evil sent by a sorcerer
té eu--curer, shaman
ut ká--"dirt-send"; curing ceremonies at a family or individual level
ut peü--"dirt-wash"; the purification ceremony performed by the shaman for the participants in a funeral
wé ká--"pest-send"; the ritual by means of which an epidemic is ritually conjured away from a community by the shaman
yat put--"house-blown"; the purification of the house of the deceased after a funeral

5:Bernal Villa E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Medicine and Magic among the Paez
[Medicina y Magia entre los Paeces]

Segundo Bernal Villa

Bogotá: 1954
Revista Colombiana de Antropología
Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 219-264

Translated from the Spanish by A. Brunel

Human Relations Area Files

1965

[Title page]

5:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Medicine and Magic Among the Paez
by
S. Bernal Villa

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Chapter I

The Te Eu

Note:

sh is equivalent to the French ch (chaise).
ch is equivalent to the Spanish ch (techo).
j is equivalent to the French j (jardin).
h is equivalent to the Spanish j (rojo).

Symptomatology. The good curers, the authentic té eu, in whom the society believes and trusts, those who constitute a monolith of security in the face of the mysteries of illness and death, are those whose vocations were determined by a vision, more precisely by a hallucination. In this case, the fate of the men is inescapable, permits no deviation. This leitmotiv, vigorous in times past, is now on the wane.

A curer from the Parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Santa Rosa describes his vision as follows: "At the age of six, while I was tending a field in the montaña, I saw my mother dressed in black, with a white hat and pouches. She chided me for the poor quality of my work, saying that animals were ruining the field. She walked on and I followed her. At the stream she vanished. I went to my home and found out that the woman was not my mother, since at the moment of the

* /221 cont./
756 vision she was at a 'minga' /communal work-party/ cooking
757 pork for the laborers.

"There was no doubt but that this was a spirit telling me that I should become a curer. The pouches that she carried indicated this to me. This is why I never fail to take my medicine pouches."

Another curer, from the Parcialidad of Calderas, relates his vision as follows: "One night I saw a beautiful child, fair, with the hair of a woman, reddish, and dressed in a wrapper. This child was the Ghost /Duende/, /222/ from whom the
[178] curer's power comes. He is the same Kallumb as is seen by true curers, because nowadyas there are some who learn to cure through the teaching of others."

In the Parcialidad of San Andrés they say that the Ghost visits the curer when someone goes to consult him, to tell him what brought him and the advice that he should give.

It may also happen, says a Calderuno /native of Calderas/
[262] 19 years old, that someone wishes to become a curer. Then,
[263] he subjects himself to a diet. For one month he eats no salt or ají /Capsicum/. He goes at once to the mountain, alone, his head lowered, lost in thought, with the hope of finding a good friend whose counsel he can ask. At a magnificent spot, pleasant to the senses, he meets a man advanced in years, short of stature, good, generous, amiable in conversation, and amply educated, who chews coca like other Indians and, like them, also carries kuetand yahas (pouches). Filled with trust, he explains his wishes to become a curer, arguing that there are many people who are dying. He asks about the good remedies. The one questioned answers that there are good remedies for curing the sick and presents him with a pouch of them. This one is for such-and-such an illness, he says, this other one for that one, and so on successively, specifying the medicinal value of the remedies in the pouch. He instructs him in their use, technique and method. Up to the way of

/222 cont./
756 787 making the tama /a staff/. That man's vision is a personal one. No one else can see it. And it is the same thing that gives the "signs," without which it is impossible to cure, even if one knows the medicinal value of the remedies. When the interview is over, the man returns home with joy manifest on his face. He finishes his apprenticeship with another curer, begins to cure his children and members of his family, and soon, once his reputation has spread, others will come and request his services.

One who is going to be a curer sees visions from boyhood: Thunder /Trueno/ or the Ghost. This is the illumination of his future destiny. He cannot evade it, for Thunder or the Ghost may drive him insane.

[263] When a child tells of having had a vision, he is immediately prohibited from eating ají, his salt ration is reduced, and [868] he is bathed with remedies. Then a good curer is sought to instruct him, and when he has the secrets of medicine, that teacher leads him to the lagoon to be consecrated by Thunder. "To see Thunder" -- says an /223/ informant -- "having him show the medicines, is a sign that one will become a very good curer."

754 756 787 When someone has a vision, care is taken that the sorcerer does not find out about it, for out of wickedness he might show him ají and hep (a plant) and drive him insane. This happened to the curer from Santa Rosa mentioned above. "He would finally have tossed me into the Páez river" -- he said -- "if a curer from Huila had not cured me. Even today, when I am drunk, I have crazy moments and sing."

756 868 Period of instruction. Instruction is given by a curer of great repute in an empirical way, for the pupil accompanies his teacher for several years, during which he learns how to handle the tama, to recognize the value of the remedies, to interpret signs, to master the technique of the treatments. The first cures are usually accomplished with his children or

/223 cont./

members of his family and under the direction of his teacher. The demand for his services on the part of others depends on the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner. All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

Those who have had visions also place themselves under the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say, those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

/224 cont./

At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole, over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk, and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine. Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

/224 cont./
the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain medicines correspond to certain signs. The té eu must /225/ divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case. This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits. When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate. Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who cures.

The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation. If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery) suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If, for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the té eu must visit his Kachí (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9/.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachí and practice the signs.

All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify something bad, while those on the right indicate something good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

/225 cont./

Right:
The signs go down the leg: death; remedies will not help.
The signs climb up the foot and the tibia: a member of the family will die and go to heaven.
The signs go up the outer edge of the foot to above the ankle: the remedies will work.
The signs occur between the ankle and the heel and cross to the same spot on the

Left:
The signs go along the inner side of the foot: the pest is leaving; the patient is encouraged.
The signs go up the outer side of the foot: the sorcerer wins; the patient dies.
The signs go up from the ankle to the back of the knee: sorcery; field has a spell on it.
These same signs, but first

/226/

left side: contest between the Té eu and the sorcerer.
Calf (gemelluses): visit of a good woman; the ghost comes singing to point out the remedies.
Calf (outer part of the digits): a good man is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap, signs that go down: a person will die from the rainbow or ghost.
Thigh: the signs run to the back of the knee and disappear: the person will die; fierce pest; serious matter.
Signs go down from the groin to the foot: the

occurring on the right and immediately passing to the left: rainbow /arco/ and Ghost.
Calf (gemelluses): a sorceress is coming to visit the curer.
Calf (extending from the digits): a sorcerer is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap: fear of the sorcerer because he is winning over the Té eu; fear, fright, disaster.
Thigh, the signs go down: bad person going by.
Rib (the tenth): bad person is coming.
Back of the hand: the ghost does not accept the remedies because they are incomplete.
Palm of the hand: the person

/226 cont./

Right:
wife is about to menstruate.
Rib (the tenth): the patient will die at once; sting of Kallumb.
The signs occur between the ring finger and heart: on the following day the person will wield a shovel to bury a dead person.
Palm of the hand: the person will receive a present; greeting from the ghost; improvement of the pest.
Palm of the hand and passes to the throat: Pijao "dirt."
Thumb and palm of the hand (simian line): the lost animal will appear, the signs indicate that it will be caught.
Biceps: a good person will ask him to be godfather at a baptism.
The signs go from the ear to the shoulder: the ears will be cut off.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the patient will improve; the stolen animal will appear.
Eye and down the nose: wake.

Left:
will die of the pest; the ghost did not accept remedies.

Signs in the arm: the echi is coming.
Biceps: same meaning as for the right side.
Wrist: someone will give a scare; he will be caught.
Shoulder and they make an arc through the chest: rainbow.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the stolen animal was eaten.
Eye and down the nose: a dead person.

/226 cont./

756 When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer
787 is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to
827 the left hand, the person is under a spell.
755 If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal be-
* longing to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.
756 In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness
755 /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the spell and the sorcerer responsible.

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons.

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to
[273] think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente,
[276] and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them
[263] when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt, articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

/227 cont./

755 He remains at the site for about an hour. When the signs give
*756 hope, he leaves the hair and returns to the patient's house.

In treatments of this type, the curer requires as "provisions" a pig, a sheep, and chicha.

*755 Divining the illness. The curer demands from his clients
756 two eggs (3) of coca, two cigars, and half a liter of aguardiente.
273
276
[804]

3. One egg of coca is equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

He gathers the coca into a medium-sized pouch with great scrupulousness, for he does not allow a single leaf to be lost. He transfers the aguardiente to a bottle of his own and puts it in the same pouch with the coca, likewise the cigars. The divination is performed under the eaves of his house at 8:00 P.M.

/228/ He places the patient on his right, seated on a pango pil (bench); the pouches of remedies are placed on his left, along with the pouch containing the coca and aguardiente received from the patient.

*755 He begins by making two bundles of remedies with yacuma
756 blanca, ul fiñ, fundayuskei, bitopiskue, and chandur de castilla (4). Each remedy is extracted patiently from his pouch,

4. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

which contains all the remedies needed for his treatments, but not in any specific order. He does not show anxiety or haste; he observes great moderation. When he takes out the remedy, before placing it on the maize husk that will serve as wrapping for the bundle, he quickly passes it around his body, beginning at the right foot, going up this side to the crown of the head, and ending on the left side, in order to stimulate the blood
[827] so that the signs will circulate. As soon as he has finished passing it, the signs may go from the right calf upward,

/228 cont./

755 indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot, 756 there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or [827] aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies received from the patient and pass it around in the same way as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and Kallumb, his helpers.

75 He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies which he presented to him not long before. He picks up the tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama" /see pp. 17-18/.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient, for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the [276] sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca, or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then, and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder, to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that it will protect him from the ptans.

[824] [763] Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats, it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small calabash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig /229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

[276] Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

/229 cont./

75 from time to time he puts in more coca and more mambe,
[276] which he takes from a small calabash (kuetand tuka), pours on his right fist, and throws with force into his mouth. He watches. Sorcerers work systematically to send him the ptans, and they must not catch him unprepared. The signs warn him as to when he must blow the chew in order to contain the ptans.

He tells the patient that the signs are favorable; there will be an immediate improvement. The pains which assail him are due to the ptans which he has from the vertex to the nape.

After 20 minutes in a motionless and expectant state, the curer stands up with his face raised, as though illuminated, walks jauntily to the tama, blows the chew violently; he fills the small gourd with aguardiente and tosses it into the air. This is the invitation to Thunder.

He returns again to his place, takes a cigar and crushes more than half of it, puts more mambe in his mouth, and remains quiet, his hands folded and his arms resting on his knees. Only the deepness of the night with its characteristic sounds disturbs this decisive moment. No carelessness. It might have fatal consequences. He remains in this position for about 40 minutes.

Then he takes the chew from his mouth with his hand and tosses it in the direction of the tama, after having passed it around his body. The patient does likewise. He immediately tells the sick man that he must return with all the remedies. He interrupts his work. Thunder has shown himself to be
75 favorable. Since the patient has ptans, a good "cleansing"
783 must be done, for which he must bring three pounds of meat to be eaten after the cleansing, chicha, one pound of coca, one liter of aguardiente, and six cigars. The curer himself must
[177] go to the lagoon in search of the remedies. He advises the patient that for a period of three months at least he must not use the drugs of the whites, for if he did so, he would die.

The cleansing of the ptans. At 7:00 P.M. the patient comes to the house of the curer. He hands over the medicines

/229 cont./

75 requested. /230/ He divides the aguardiente into two bottles:
783 one for Thunder and the other to drink. In Thunder's bottle he
[782] places a sprig of chayuts, after passing it around his body; the sprig remains floating and vertical, a good omen. He puts the coca in a special pouch, along with the aguardiente and cigars. He makes up two bundles of remedies with maize husks. One is for the patient, to chew and swallow the juice.

75 He divides the other bottle, takes chayuts, passes it around
78 his body, puts it in the small calabash, fills it with aguardiente, and goes out of the house to toast Thunder. Then he gathers his pouches of remedies, a calabash of chicha, the patient's coca, a candle, and matches, and he goes to the divination site. When Thunder comes, he will ask the curer what the patient has presented to him. The he will show him the chicha and aguardiente. Thunder, satisfied, will say: "Take this, since you received it." They will drink together. Thunder's share will be tossed into the air. The patient must remain inside the house. When the time comes, he will call him for the "cleansing."

75 Outside, the night is black as ebony. The silhouette of
783 the curer is barely visible. He sits under the eaves to the south of the house. He begins to chew the remedies after passing them around his body. He drives in the tama and beside it he places the bottle of aguardiente. Immediately after this, seated, almost squatting, with his hand folded, quiet and motionless, gazing into space, grave, self-controlled, conscious of his mission, imbued with his knowledge, he spends long hours conversing with Thunder and warding off the attacks of sorcerers. From time to time he gets up without haste, slowly, as slowly as the passing of the hours of the night, and he beats with the tama, displaying the energy that marks the activities of the curer. The patient, lying on a cowhide, with no covering other than his own clothes, sleeps near the fire; he wakes up at different times, pierced by the intense cold of the night; outside he hears the constant, rhythmic, regular, vigorous blowings of the medicine man.

/230 cont./

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783 At two in the morning, or rather, at the first cock's crow, the té eu calls the patient. The moon is full; the night seems white. The sick man sits to the right of the curer. He receives a bundle of remedies to chew. They are yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskei. They help with the cleansing, and when spat out they will remove the "dirt" (ptans).

/231/ He places chayuts on the patient's crown in order to ward off any possible attack by the Echi. He advises him again not to use the remedies of the whites and, in case there is no improvement, always to return to the curer.

The curer passes to the right of the patient, about three meters. He points at him with the tama and blows out chewed coca and aguardiente in order to contain the black cloud (ptans) which may come at any moment. He comes to the patient and rubs him (cleanses him) with the tama, beginning with the right foot and continuing along this side; at the crown he rubs several times, sucks (absorbs the "dirt") for five or six breaths, rubs again; he lowers the tama to the throat, rubs, sucks the right shoulder, rubs again, and passes the tama to the nape of the neck, where he repeats the process; he ends up by bringing the tama down the left side. Over a hole dug previously to the left of the curer and about 15 meters away, he spits out everything that he had in his mouth and the dirt that he collected from the patient; he vomits; he blows one mouthful of aguardiente into the air, dismissing the "dirt," and drinks one so that the "dirt" will not enter again. He calls the patient, orders him to spit out the remedies that he has chewed, and hands him the bottle to measure out two drafts: one to be blown into the air and the other to be swallowed. He covers up the hole carefully. Curer and patient return to their places.

The té eu takes a good handful of shu and tashú, dips it in water in spite of the fact that it is quite damp, and goes to the patient. He begins the cleansing by going upward from the right foot. At the crown of the head, throat, and the nape of

/231 cont./

75 the neck, he exerts some pressure and the icy water runs down
783 the body. He goes down the left side and then goes to the hole to bury these remedies. With these remedies the body absorbs coolness. After having buried them, he blows aguardiente into the air and then drinks some more.

Once more at his place, he gives the patient a few herbs (shu and siempre viva?) to hold in his hand. He goes to the right of the patient and from there points to him with the tama and blows; he draws nearer, and he makes the familiar passes with the tama and the remedies named. He rubs the crown of the head (vertex), throat, and the nape of the neck.

[782] They go to the hole and toss the herbs into the hole. The curer takes a mouthful of aguardiente, stretches the tama toward the horizon, rises proudly, sets his eyes in the direction of the tama, blows violently several times, and soon his atti-
[191] tude becomes entreating. /232/ Actually, he prays in Spanish: "Lord, help us; I implore you for everyone." The té eu said later that he had prayed to Thunder, so that he would help him and would not permit the sorcerer to discover this hole where the "dirt" was buried. He drank a swallow. The patient blows a mouthful of aguardiente into the air and drinks a second one. They return to their places. The curer picks up the calabash of chicha, goes to the hole, and pours it out. It is a gift to Thunder.

Once more in his place, he puts yacuma, shu, and tashú into a calabash of cold water. He goes to the patient's right and from there sprinkles this water first on the house and then on the patient, who first removed his hat by order of the curer. This is a veritable bath, so that if any ptans should remain, it would be removed and he would be completely clean. The remaining water is poured into the hole. He blows aguardiente and drinks some more, the patient proceeding in the same way. The curer raises the tama and implores: "I pay you; I shall pay you." The curer said that he had spoken as follows:

/232 cont./

75
783 "There are all the remedies that you pointed out to me. If another patient comes, help me." Then he pours out all the aguardiente as a toast to Thunder.

With this, the cleansing is over. It is 3:30 in the morning.

He advises the patient not to change the remedies and not to take a route below that hole. He states that the signs are favorable and that he asked God for the patient's improvement.

To summarize, the cleansing of the ptans is done at night, beginning at 8:00 or 9:00 P.M. and ending at 3:00 P.M. /sic/ approximately. The following procedure is observed:

1. The patient must give to the curer two eggs of coca, one bottle of aguardiente, and two cigars.

2. The curer puts these remedies in a special pouch. He makes up a few bundles of remedies with yacuma blanca, ul fiñi, fiundayuskei, bitopiskue, chandur de castilla, chayuts (Santa Rosa), or yacuma, chayuts, tayuskei, shugues, tatse, echiutse (Calderas). All of these remedies are passed around the body of the curer.

3. At the Kachí, he places the tama and aguardiente in a special spot, hands over to the patient a bundle of remedies for chewing, and puts chayuts (Santa Rosa) or guepekás (Calderas) on his own and the patient's vertex (crown).

4. The first cleansing is done with the tama, by rubbing and by sucking the vertex, the right shoulder, and the nape of the neck, in order to remove /233/ the ptans and spit it out into a hole to bury it. There is blowing and the drinking of aguardiente by curer and patient.

5. The same procedure is followed with the wet remedies (shu, tashú) to lend coolness to the body.

6. A new cleansing is carried out with other herbs (shu and siempre viva?) with the rubbings and the suckings at the places mentioned, the burying of them, and the blowing and drinking of aguardiente. In Santa Rosa, this is the moment when the curer makes his entreaty.

/233 cont./

75 783 7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

756 The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centi-
755 meters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama

[113]

6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

755 is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treat-
756 ments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, ac-
532 cording to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called
552 "Soft wind of Thunder."

[773] According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

* /233 cont./
756 called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the
[755] founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader,
[532] legislator, and famed curer.
[552] The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred
[773] character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects
[751] from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift
[787] from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing
[428] that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by
a young curer, but generally it is left near the cemetery.

*756 A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with
539 his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the
tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense
of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising
implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of
men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought
out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer.
The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who be-
came a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us
the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself.
A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He
went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused
to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho.
On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace
anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his
whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy
reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to
his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone
to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in
his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The
aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies
were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he
fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's
door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

/234 cont./
756 papa had told him to defend himself with it and in case of ill-
539 ness to take the remedies that he had given him. He extracted their juice and took it. He rapidly improved. He applied them to others and noted that they soon regained their health. With the tama and the remedies he became the best curer in the entire region. He died when he was an old man"

755 To combat ptans, the tama is used in conjunction with a
756 plant called "nica."
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Theory of illness. Sicknesses are caused by the state of
753 oodily impurity called "dirt" /sucio/, cold /hielo/, or /235/
783 ptans. The causes are essentially magical and are interpreted more as a premeditated and inimical attack than as punishment by supernatural beings. There are those who state that sicknesses are sent by God, but if one repents, they are soon taken away. Be it said at once that this concept is neither general nor rooted in tradition. Sicknesses, then, do not have natural causes; nor do accidents, since they are provoked by sorcerers.

Impurities are caused by the following:

a) When a person who has been at a wake has not had himself "cleansed."

b) When people dress in the clothes of a deceased person without washing them with the appropriate remedies.

c) When the house where the corpse was watched over has not been cleansed.

d) When a woman does not spend her period of menstruation in the Du yate léchukue.

e) When a woman does not bathe after menstruation.

f) When the placenta has not been suitably buried in the appropriate place and with the required remedies.

g) When a man sleeps with a menstruating woman.

h) When the man who serves food to a menstruating woman has not bathed his body or washed his clothes.

i) When the woman, after observing the diet of childbirth, does not bathe.

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/235 cont./

753 783 j) When there is no blowing of remedies while at the montañas, bogs, or lagoons.

k) When there is no blowing of remedies prior to cutting wood for bridges, sugar mills, and canoes.

l) When, at the inauguration of a rancho or house, the house ceremonies have not been performed.

ll) When the house has been built over a Pijao "huaca," or when they merely come across one while working the land.

m) When the traditional ceremonies are not performed upon harvesting a new clearing.

754 753 783 n) Through the machinations of the sorcerers. These kill the most people, for they not only send the pest to persons, but also to the entire community. On the other hand, they provoke /236/ the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi to anger and also do sorcery at the request of jealous or vengeful persons. The sorcerers have unlimited power.

Hernández de Alba, speaking of illness, generalizes in these words:

"Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still [834] [821] [765] in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse wit /sic/ a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglicting /sic/ to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death ocurred /sic/" /cited in English/ (7).

7. Hernández de Alba, Gr. 1946, p. 955. See also Pittier de Fábrega, H. 1907, p. 325.

/236 cont./

755 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are
783 also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly
164 identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is
761 said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms,
776 pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

753 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very
776 vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from
[755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re-
[783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred
776 to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at
821 any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children
[755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers,
[789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, flushamuanda, and yacuma
[755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
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It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul fiñi, fiundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/238 cont./

755 For the sting of Kallumb:

757 Chandur, fiushamuenda, white and yellow guapeshú, nica, tobacco, chayuts.

For the sting of Echi:

Tatsé, ul fiifi, yacuma blanca, shugues, tayuskei, siempre viva, shulape, shu, shupeñifi.

For the sting of Rainbow:

Chandur, fiushamuanda, black yacuma, ul fiifi, chayuts.

All the above remedies are cooling and serve to allay fever.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Chandur	. . .	?	Cooling. Used to clean away ptans. There are two varieties. The large one is called: Musha.
Esh	Coca	Erythróxydon /Erythroxylon/ coca.	Boiled roots and leaves: colic and diarrhea.
Bichach	Caucho /rubber/	Hevéa?	Leaves roasted in embers for fractures, dislocations, contusions. The dry leaf is removed and placed on cabuya tops for rapid healing.
Chulco	Chulco	Oxális sp.	Against smallpox.
Chayuts*	Contento, Alegría /sesame/	Scutellaria racemosa Per.	Panacea of the Paez.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Small chuwet	?	?	To propitiate streams.
Fisa, bitopat	Dodoquero	?	In combination with yukchacha and montaña barbasco, it is used to treat blennorrhagia.
Echiutse chime*	?	Labiada?	Against the pest. Bathing with this herb wards off Echi, especially when traveling at night.
Guepekás	Pringamoza. Ortiga /nettle/.	Urera boccifera L.	Wards off ptans. Used for sorcery.
Kuese	Barbasco de lo caliente	Lonchocárpus?	In winter it is blown into the air to make summer come. Used against chande (scabies).

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Limoncillo	Limoncillo	Cymbopógon citrátus.	Infusion with panela and aguardiente against coldness for a woman in childbirth. Also used against diarrhea.
Nica	?	?	For combatting ptans. For hair of ghost.
/240/ Ñundayuskei	Pateperro	?	Against ptans. The juice for diarrhea; with tobacco, for stomach-ache. The water from this for toothache; spit out half the candle /candela/ to help allay the illness.
Shu*	?	Sphagnum sp.	For combatting ptans.
Shugués*	?	Peperomia sp.	For cleaning away ptans.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Shulape	?	?	Against echi and for coughing.
Shupeñin*	?	Peperomia sp.	Echi and whooping cough.
Siempreviva		?	Tied to the head it allays pain.
Muahi	Tabaco	Nicotiana tabacum L.	With coca, it makes the "signs" circulate. Crushed, it checks hemorrhages. For combatting ptans.
Tap.	?	?	See Bichach.
Tatsé	?	?	For coughing; to restrain the pulse (us) when a child is frightened. Against ptans.
Tayuskei*		Peperomia sp.	For infections of the umbilicus. Whooping cough.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Ui fiñ*	Culebrina, pepa de arco, monito almizclillo	Hibiscus abelmoschus L.	Ptans, echi, rainbow.
Yacuma blanca		?	Ptans.
Umsim*	Yacuma negra	Myrcia acuminata DC. Vell aff.	Against the rainbow.
Yuskei*		Scleria cattarinensis Boeck.	Ptans

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824 (128) [137] The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 182 171 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 182 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 *756 182 [734] When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the community, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo) invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform [765] [783] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 *756 783 182 789 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not cultivated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations *756 789 182 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952, before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

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731 Since the ceremonies mentioned have some differential
755 aspects, we shall look at them in detail.
756 Wé ká (pest-send). When the pest appears in a community,
783 smallpox, whooping cough, which are rapidly finishing off
/242/ the population, the cabildo takes the initiative for conjuring away the danger. It requests from the people coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, they arranges for a pig and invite a famous curer who can talk to Thunder. From the edge of a lagoon, by means of good remedies and the help of Thunder, the curer must ward off the pest.

[782] They sacrifice the pig. From its left side they take a small piece from all the organs and place them in a new pouch. They gather glowworms (Echis) and go to the lagoon. The retinue made up of the curer and the cabildo leaves at three in the afternoon, and twelve hours later they will be back at the point of departure. Meanwhile, the women have been busy preparing the meat, without eating a single piece of it. They have not slept either, for they have an obligation to wait for the retinue wide-awake. When they arrive, the meat and stew are distributed, and the chicha and aguardiente are drunk. With this the people are relieved and the pest is banished from the community.

755 Ut ká ("dirt"-send). This is exclusively a family affair.
756 When the members of a family are dying, there is ptans, says
783 an informant, while another one thinks, with more reason, that it is the angry spirits of the dead who want to finish off the family. In such a case, the eldest of the survivors arranges for coca, aguardiente, and tobacco, gathers the family members together, and calls the curer.

[787] The latter divines up to eight or ten nights. He captures up to 12 glowworms. He asks for a castrated and fat pig. He ties it up for an entire night and divines as to whether the souls of the dead members of the family will accept it. At dawn he orders it killed. The slaughterers, the chicha-makers, the carriers of the sugar cane, and the women cooks are not

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755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
*756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.
[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being performed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer
[787] [782] divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
*756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

/243 cont./

*755 He fills the grave[1] with earth and proceeds with the cleansing
756 of the members of the family. They return home. All the
783 workers come out, and again he cleanses all of them. Only then can they go inside. The women have all the food prepared with half of the pig, for the other half belongs to the curer. Chicha and aguardiente are drunk and then the food is served. When dawn breaks, the usual liquors are being consumed. The curer leaves and other people take charge of bringing him his provision. The curer receives it, gives thanks, and hangs it outside the house. He can eat it only when he has killed more glowworms.

With this the Ut kŭ is finished and the pest has been warded off from the family.

*756 Ut peu ("dirt"-wash). Immediately after the burial, and
764 on the bank of a river or a spring, the washing of the clothes
783 and the cleansing of the people are done. The curer prepares three calabashes of remedies made up of (1) water and cow dung, (2) with rue, bitopiskue, ñundayuskei, dachak (curíbano /Scleria floribunda/), crushed, and (3) with shu and shulape.

/244/ With these, and in the order given, the people wash their clothes and their bodies. The clothes of the deceased are washed by the heirs.

The curer, after washing his own feet with the same remedies, remains seated, perceiving the signs. He then prepares another calabash of remedies with shŭ, shulape, and yuskei, for washing the hands of all those present.

He starts cleansing the people, who are seated on stones. The curer goes to the left and comes from there, beating with the tama. On reaching the first person to be cleansed, he performs the same acts already mentioned, doing the same with the others. He vomits the sucked-out "dirt" into a hole, where the people also cast their chew of coca, tobacco, and yuskei. Then the medicine man washes his hands with aguardiente and the remedy previously prepared. Everyone

[1] [i.e., the grave into which the dolls as representations of the souls, have been placed -- Analyst]

/244 cont./

takes two swallows: they blow one into the air and they drink the second one. What remains is sprinkled into the air. Those present are lined up in a row, and the curer again beats with the tama, first around the front part and then around the back part. He casts the collected dirt into the hole, covers it with a stone, and tamps down the earth. Now the people, clean of ptans, go to the house of the deceased.

Yat put (house-blown). After the ceremony of the Ut Peu, all the people go to the house of the deceased, which they do not enter until the blowing of the house has been done. Everyone who was in the house comes out. The curer prepares the same three calabashes of remedies which he used in the Ut Peu. He pours out the calabash of water-diluted cow-dung at the spot where the corpse lay, doing the same with the second one. With the third, that is to say, the one made up of shu and shulape, he sprinkles the entire house (patio, walls, rooms, roof). With this the people can go in and its occupants will continue to live. Dr. Hernández de Alba describes the cleansing as follows:

"A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, with /sic/ are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spites /sic/ leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the /245/ others /sic/ half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he bdows /sic/ chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean. The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk" /cited in English/ (8).

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/245 cont./

*765 756 783 [113] 8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñi, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

/245 cont./

241 As soon as the curer has collected one fruit of every species to
756 be harvested, he makes up a bundle as an offering to the Ghost,
[782] since he is the owner of the earth.
[776] When this offering has been made, the owners harvest a pouch of each crop sown. They go home and /246/ put the pouches side by side in the left part of the entrance door for
[783] the curer to blow remedies again. Without this requisite, the pouches of food could not be brought into the house because they might carry the pest. The women begin to cook them. When the time for eating comes, the curer first passes around a cup of aguardiente with yuskei and bitopiskue. When there are potatoes, they are handed over to the curer after they are cooked. He distributes one specimen to everyone present; what remains is handed to the owner, who in turn gives generously to the curer.

If the first fruits are of maize or beans, the following is done:

With the green ears of maize, "loaves" /bollos/ or "wrappers" /envueltos/ are prepared; with the beans, a large bundle is made. Then the ears of maize, the bundle of beans, and the loaves are cooked. Aside from this, there is a pot of stew with chicken to provide for the curer.

The cooked ears of maize, beans, and loaves are assembled in a trough, and the cook distributes to all those present a sample of each type. Everyone eats, taking care to leave a little of each mouthful, which they pass to the curer. The latter makes a pile, ties it up, and hangs it from the ridge of the house so that the field seed which is being harvested will yield abundant fruit in the following year.

The husks of the ears of maize are piled outside the house, where the curer remains for one night with the object of capturing glowworms and killing them.

776 Assisting spirits. Thunder. All the informants state that Thunder is short in stature, about 1.40 meters, wears a large hat of twigs, underdrawers, a black poncho, tama, and pouch

/246 cont./

776 of remedies. In addition, some say that he has a long beard, does not wear trousers, shows his genitals, and carries a musical instrument called tíngalo (triangle).

*[756] He is a curer and teacher of all the Paez té eu; a protector of the nasa (people) and to some extent even their legislator. Sat (cacique) at the time of the Pijao, he defended them from their voracity and gave them good advice. He ordered that the staffs of command of the cabildo members be washed in the lagoon, abodes of Thunder, to prevent the pest from killing the people.

[823] Thunder is an immortal spirit. He is not seen. He is the guardian of gold and he kills those who dare to collect it. He 776 warns the people /247/ when an evil white is coming to visit 821 them by means of a very strong peal of thunder given when it 787 is not going to rain. If thunder strikes in front of a house, this indicates to the owner that he has the pest and that he should seek out a curer to cure him. If it thunders first at the sorcerer's house and immediately passes to that of the curer, it is a sign that the former is casting a spell on him.

* 756 When a patient requested the services of a curer from 776 Santa Rosa, a torrential rain accompanied by thunder fell during the night. On the following day he told the patient that he had talked to Thunder, who had advised him not to treat him unless he brought him everything that he had requested.

The only being that Thunder fears is the devil. He knows more treatments than the Ghost.

* 756 A curer-sorceress from Santa Rosa says that Thunder, called 776 Manuel José Tipo, had fallen in love with her. He gave her 787 serenades with the tíngalo, which were more frequent when the sorceress swept the patio of her house. During the serenades he taught her the remedies. He was at the point of carrying her away to the lagoon, if she had not defended herself vigorously.

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776 Manuel José Tipo was in Calderas (9). The people tossed
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[113]

9. Frazer, Sir James George. La Rama Dorada /The Golden Bough/, Fdo. de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1951, pp. 33-34.

poison into the lagoon and he had to leave the place in the company of his wife. He went through the air to Santa Rosa, where, upon arriving, he let his wife fall. It killed her. In this parcialidad he was in love with a cacica /female cacique/. He always came to her well-dressed, with a rich bag of chachalacas. The father of the cacica, curious as to how he had killed so many chachalacas, followed him to the montaña and noted that when he undressed he had snakeskin on his back. He was a snake and for this reason caught birds with ease. He told this to his daughter. She, accompanied by a servant girl, set out on the following day for her field of very fertile soil. She had handsome fields of potatoes, cabbages, and onions. Thunder came to visit her. The place began to become a lagoon, and the servant girl warned her mistress of the danger that they were in. She paid no heed. Lucía Kalguesh, the cacica, remained there, living with Thunder. The lagoon was very rough, and Thunder deceived his wives a great deal. Then the puswesh (the stars) came down, cleared the forest around the lagoon, and dug out a drainage ditch for the purpose of /248/ drying it up. Just as they were about to achieve their end, Thunder came out and begged them not to dry up his dwelling. The angry puswesh sewed his mouth and cut off his tongue, for they were too big.

Thunder continued to behave badly, and the curers chased him to another lagoon, without his wife and children.

776 Kallumb. He lives in the springs and in the caves. He is a good spirit. The people say that the Virgin left a roving

5:Bernal Villa--38 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with
[727] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less
* fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

756 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state;
562 there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind
[754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men.
[754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence
* women do not learn medicine.

756 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food.
834 They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have
262 in other cultures.

While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit. The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are poisonous.

The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost. They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "provisions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day. Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality makes them sleep less.

Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams, as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, observes a certain relation between the manifest content of the dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Interpretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here are a few examples out of many:

To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

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787 To dream of jaguars and cats, there is a Pijao "huaca" inside the house.

To dream of a hearth, there is gold at the spot.

[763] To dream that a jaguar is eating the chickens, the person will die of the Pijao pest.

To dream of a cow, the wife will die.

To dream of killing a bull or a horse, a good person will die (curers):

To dream that wasps are stinging him, they are going to catch him.

[763] /250/ To dream that the teeth are falling out painlessly, a close relative will die.

To dream of eating ají, the person will become angry for insignificant reasons.

To dream of finding a new chumbe /band/, they are working for the rainbow to sting him; if he dreamed that he was wrapped in it, the rainbow has stung him.

To dream of carrying beams or canoes, he will help to bury a dead person.

To dream of receiving silver coins, he will suffer from blennorrhagia.

To dream of drowning, there will be a war and he will be taken prisoner, or he will simply be drafted into the army.

* 751 Payment of the Te eu. As a rule, the curers do not collect fees either in money or in kind. Their services are free. In the confirmation of the profusion the first thing that Thunder recommends is to be charitable toward people. One curer states that he does not cure as a business, for he collects neither money nor animals; people reward him with a small gift. Another curer is more dogmatic. To exploit people is to incur God's anger. The people's gratitude is always expressed in the "provisions" (meat, chicha, and aguardiente).

Out of the articles that the patient brings them for the treatments, only a little coca is left over for them. From the ceremonies for the initiation of the harvest they receive cooked

/250 cont./

756 and raw food. From the Ut ká and Wé ká they receive half of the animal sacrificed, chicha, and aguardiente. In case of a serious illness, they demand a pig, a sheep, and turkeys. But they get only a little.

756 Although there is no lack of information about curers who
554 collect money for practicing their learning, such as a curer from Togoima who was in demand even in La Plata and Garzón, it may be stated that the curers do not grow rich in the profession. Rather, the practice of curing prejudices their economic activities. Some are quite poor, while others own large areas of land, good fields of maize, wheat, plantains, and arracacha, a few head of cattle, and several horses, pigs, sheep, and turkeys. They might be classified as rich. Of the five curers from the Parcialidad of Calderas, three may be regarded as rich, while of those regarded as sorcerers, only one is poor. Naturally, this has been acquired by inheritance /251/ rather than as the fruit of their own efforts. Their labors are performed in accordance with the norms that prevail in the community, that is to say, through the system of mingas. During the harvest they make a distribution of foods just as the others do. They participate actively in the work of the others, as well as at the fiestas and drinking bouts.

It remains to be noted that the richest of the community are not curers. On occasion they are frequently criticized when during the treatments they request pork and the patient is not improving. "You should be ashamed" -- they shout -- "you are eating mutton and the patient is dying."

[754] "Good curers, in referring to those regarded as sorcerers, say that they collect without fail. Whatever they see they ask for. The sorcerers say the same thing about the curers.

Social status of the Té eu. All the well-known curers are over 30 years of age. They are "elders" /mayores/ and for this reason respected by the community. It is said that the curers are no better than other men, but it is certain that they enjoy an aura of prestige and recognition different from that given by the concept of "majority" /mayoridad/.

/251 cont./

In any case, "the curers have something and are kind," said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

/252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change, although they are friendly enough with whites. They always advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

[886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[727] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
[821] by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[763] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají during their treatments.

[731] They attract the entire concern of the community when epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sickness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their profession.

* 756 Competition among the Tẽ eu. Some rivalry seems to
578 exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice. A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
* 756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies. Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
*756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
*756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:
774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

/253 cont./

75 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not
539 sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We
774 were tired. 'We shall catch that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back, for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me, since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at
* them (kit sust). They went to sleep.

756 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal.
539 They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare
789 the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal. Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives,
774 goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente. They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul. At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi, remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down
[783] the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has
* been averted.

756 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head,
717 ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí
783 with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and flica to wait

/254 cont./

for it. If a black cloud draws near, he cuts it with the tama. It is the ptans.

The relations between these two men, on whose activities a great part of the security of the group rests, are not cordial; they are relations of latent and permanent aggression. The sorcerers wait for carelessness on the part of the curer. If they catch him asleep, they kill him at once. The sorcerers use pieces of glass to put an end to the wisdom of the Te eu, that is to say, to the signs. They can call sicknesses, combine all the pests, and send them to another parcialidad or to the curer himself so that they will kill.

When a té eu meets a sorcerer, they barely greet each other; at night he takes every precaution.

The curers can accuse a sorcerer before the cabildo, but they are afraid to do so.

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Chapter II

Nasa Jihi

The vision that decides a destiny. Just as a té eu needs to see visions in order to decide on his vocation, the sorcerer also decides by means of visions. For example, if in the beak of a bird there is seen a donkey with open mouth into which mosquitoes fly, or simply pigs, the person is fated to become a sorcerer. These visions are personal and usually occur in isolated spots, such as ravines or bogs, where animals cannot come, on any day or at any hour, for this can take place in the daytime or at night.

When a person claims to have seen a donkey, people say that he is going to eat people. It is commonly stated that those who like to walk about at night are more likely to become sorcerers, for they have the opportunity to meet with evil spirits.

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754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show in-
*756 terest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally
*[756] acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identifi-
[124] cation. All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Neverthe-
[56] less, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well
[692] hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

5:Bernal Villa--48 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs.

[825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 598 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 534 153 598 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/257 cont./

754 554 152 598 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick person, explained that this man owned much land and that they had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 613 623 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 685 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

754 177 554 The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/258 cont./

754 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable
554 toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path
[182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of
648 sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings
[433] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting
[167] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi-
[464] gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/258 cont./

754 Methods of sorcery. There are various procedures for
774 practicing sorcery:

/259/ a) The one most widespread and about which the most information is provided consists of digging a hole and waiting over it for the soul of the victim. It arrives, giving off light like a candle. At once the sorcerer hits it with the tama, and it falls into the hole. It is at his disposal; he can bury it, whip it, blow remedies or mambe upon it, show it harmful objects.

When a quick death is desired, the sorcerer buries the soul with bad remedies, tamping it down vigorously with earth from the cemetery. The soul comes out with a whistling sound when the person dies.

754 It may also be whipped with the following remedies:
774 Bao* (Araceae). The victim's stomach swells until he dies.
824 Borrachero (Datura sp.). Poisonous narcotic. The victim goes mad.

Cabuya (Agave sp.). The juice of the leaves is caustic. The victim rots away.

Caspi* (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze). Poisonous shrub whose emanations cause irritation of the skin. The person swells up and dies.

Chuwet in Spanish, called estancadera (Krameria ixína?) by the whites. It has pointed leaves, which, when brought into contact with the soul, stab the person.

Lechero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), poisonous plant. The victim bursts.

Pringamoza. The hairs of this member of the Urticaceae enter the body, and when they reach the heart, the victim dies.

754 The sorcerer can blow mambe on the soul, leaving the
774 person blind, or drive him insane by moving toward it a deer skull with an echi inside.

He can also prick it with the bones and hair of porcupines, snake bones, claws of the swift parakeet, and talons of eagles.

/259 cont./

754 To facilitate the capture of the soul, the sorcerer gathers
774 the soil on which the victim has trod, with which the us (heart) falls easily.

754 b) The sorcerer can make angry the Ghost, Rainbow, and
776 Echi. Thus:

For the Ghost, he puts a large ají de montaña (Capsicum sp.) at the spot where he lives; the person passes by and dies of a few stings in the heart.

/260/ For the Rainbow, he puts the rags of a menstruating woman in springs, bogs, damp places. A person passes by, is stung, and dies.

For the echi, he puts remedies where the victim works; stung, he vomits blood and dies on the spot.

754 c) Another way to cast a spell is rubbing bad remedies on the salt, pork, or eggs that the victim is going to eat. If by chance someone else eats them, nothing happens, for the witchcraft was not directed against him.

[783] d) The sorcerers handle the pest as they please. They can send it to persons or to the entire community. The sorceress Felisa brings the pest to Santa Rosa even for business reasons.

[789] e) When the sorcerers do not wish a person to return, they place at a strategic spot on the road two bundles of chayuts pointing upward, and in addition they blow dry pringamoza.

f) A curer from Santa Rosa explains how a spell was cast on one of the former gobernadors of the parcialidad. The late Leonidas was working in his garden and his rancho was empty. Then a woman came in, dressed in black (Dolores Oinó), dropped into the pot of food some of her own pubic hair, and stole a piece of Pijao earthenware that contained silver. Leonidas ate this food and began to feel his throat become dry
[783] and to breathe with difficulty. Finally he died. The Pijao pest has the same symptoms.

g) When the sorcerer wants a person to suffer an accident (fracture, contusion, dislocation), he leaves somewhere in that person's house a very smooth stone taken from the stream. The person, wherever he may be, slips and falls.

/260 cont./

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the
[783] sorcerer sent him ptans.

[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or
789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire " (10).

[10] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that
182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by
754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

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683 554 754 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu: "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 [623] In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 184 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951, they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/262 cont./
683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

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182 754 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts [761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 182 177 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 754 423 [554] [152] Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution has become prominent. Those who have the most land are the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions

754 182 [184] [177] [675] [762] appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this institution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and cases of arson are hair-raising.

5:Bernal Villa--57 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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[For information on the various herbs and other pharmaceuticals used by the shaman in curing and purification ceremonies, see categories 755 and 783.]

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[For information on the training of apprentice shamans, see category 756.]

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[For information on the Paez shaman (té eu) and his function and status in the society, see category 116, pp. 1-11, 17-19, 29-36, and 38-47.]